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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsànà', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsàlà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

• 615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogàlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcàlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogàlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 789]

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanàlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanàlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 188.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilâlgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilâlgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[13] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogâlgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis. 615.

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another. 615 184

Of the first class were the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunâlgi referred to the âsi or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down âsi bushes for a bed; hence the âsi was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisâlgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislâgi or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcâlgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liâlgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service. 615

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

[13] See p. 61.

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•615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjámálgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilisálgi, Sidjotcápkálgi, or Wałakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (átci-suklaitcá), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 614 621 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 154. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 158; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

Clan Councils by Towns

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.
[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.
[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.
[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.
[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[32]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[32a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[32a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łałogałga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[33]

Tuskegee:[33]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcilokí).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[34]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[35]
8. Bear.

[32] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[32a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[33] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[33] Spec notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[34] Some place the Potato in this group.
[35] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[26] Fox, Ldjámi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Laplâko:[27]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[28]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[29]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tâmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[30]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[31] Wildcat.[32]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[33]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[34]
1. Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[34]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[35]
1. Tâmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[26] According to one informant, the Potato belonged in group 3.

[27] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[28] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[29] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[30] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[31] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[32] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[33] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[34] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[35] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Teokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Wokai.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tàmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tàmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tàmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Teokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[86]
8. Bird.[86]

[86] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

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Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Łiwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tâmi, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.*
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.=="Total."

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* Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

Associations of Creek Clans

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*
Wind and Skunk	6	1		2	1		1	11								
Wind and Fish				2				2						1		1
Wind and Otter				1	1		1	3	2				1		1	4
Wind and Bear	1		1	1				3	18	2		4	4	1	6	35
Wind and Deer						1		1	17	3	1	4	4		6	35
Wind and Panther	1					1		2	18	2	1	4	4		5	34
Wind and Mole				1				1	2			1	3			6
Wind and Bird		1		1				2	18		1	3	4		5	31
Wind and Alligator		1						1	17	1	1	3	4	1	7	34
Wind and Turkey		1						1	11	1		2	1		3	18
Wind and Tcokote				1				1					1			1
Wind and Toad				1				1				2				2
Wind and Raccoon									19		1	4	2		5	31
Wind and Beaver				1				1	19	2	1	3	4	1	5	35
Wind and Aktayatci	1	1						2	16	1	1	4	4		6	32
Wind and Potato									15			3	4		6	28
Wind and Tami									13			3	4		3	23
Wind and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Wind and Eagle									4							4
Wind and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Wind and Wildcat									7	2		2	2			13
Wind and Tcowasta									2			1				3
Wind and Wolf									5	1		2	3	1	1	13
Wind and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Wind and Nokfaha												1				1
Wind and Salt										2		1			1	4
Wind and Fresh-land												1				1

Wind and Asunwa												1				1
Wind and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Wind and Woksi									3			1				4
Wind and Fish														1		1
Wind and Łidjâmi									1							1
Wind and Cane									1				1			2
Wind and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Wolf	6			4	3	1	1	15		1						1
Bear and Salt		2		1			1	4								
Bear and Panther	1	1						2	18	1	1	4	4	1	5	34
Bear and Bird	7			1			1	9	14	1	1	3	4		4	27
Bear and Beaver	5			1			1	7	15	2	1	4	4	1	4	31
Bear and Alligator	3							3	17	2	1	4	4	1	6	35
Bear and Tâmi	3						1	4	13			4	4		2	23
Bear and Turkey	3						1	4	9	2		2	1		2	16
Bear and Deer	1			1			1	3	17	2	1	2	4	1	5	32
Bear and Otter							1	1	2			1	2		1	6
Bear and Pahosa							1	1	7			1	2		2	12
Bear and Potato							1	1	15			4	4		5	28
Bear and Raccoon							1	1	20		1	4	2		4	31
Bear and Aktayatci									17	1	1	4	4		6	33
Bear and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Asunwa				1				1								
Bear and Fresh-land				1				1								
Bear and Nokfaha				1				1								
Bear and Fish												2		1		3
Bear and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Bear and Wildcat									7			2	2			11
Bear and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bear and Mole									2			2	3			7
Bear and Teokote												1	1			2

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Bear and Toad												1	2			3
Bear and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Bear and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Bear and Wokai									3			1				4
Bear and Eagle									4							4
Bear and Tcowasta									2							2
Bear and Łidjámi									1							1
Bear and Cane									1				1			2
Panther and Wildcat	6	2		3	2			13	1							1
Panther and Deer	1		1	2	3	1	1	9	15	1		2	1		4	23
Panther and Mole					1			1	2			1	2			5
Panther and Raccoon	1		1					2	18			4	2		4	28
Panther and Potato	1							1	13			4	4		5	26
Panther and Pahosa	1			1	1			3	5				1		3	9
Panther and Alligator			1					1	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Panther and Beaver			1					1	18	1		4	4	1	4	32
Panther and Nokfaha												1				1
Panther and Łidjámi									1							1
Panther and Bird			1					1	18	1		3	4		4	30
Panther and Aktayatci	1		1					2	15	1		4	4		5	29
Panther and Salt		1						1		1		1			1	3
Panther and Turkey				1				1	11	2		1	1		3	18
Panther and Cane					1			1	1							1
Panther and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Panther and Tcowasta	1							1	1							1
Panther and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Panther and Wolf									4	1		3	3	1	1	13

Panther and Fish												2		1		3
Panther and Tàmi									12			4	4		3	23
Panther and Fox									3			4	1			8
Panther and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Panther and Skunk									6	1		2	1			10
Panther and Mole									2			2	2			6
Panther and Tcokote												1	1			2
Panther and Toad					1			1				1	1			2
Panther and Fresh-land												1				1
Panther and Asunwa												1				1
Panther and Snake									1			1	3		5	10
Panther and Wokal									3			1				4
Panther and Eagle									4							4
Deer and Pahoea	5			1	2		3	11	2							2
Deer and Mole	1				2			3	1			2	1			4
Deer and Tcokote												1	1			2
Deer and Toad					1		1	2				1	1			2
Deer and Wildcat				2	2			4	6	1						7
Deer and Bird	1		1					2	17			3	4		6	30
Deer and Beaver	1		1					2	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Deer and Alligator	1		1					2	16	1		4	4	1	6	32
Deer and Tàmi	1							1	12			4	4		3	23
Deer and Turkey	1			1				2	10	1		1	1		3	16
Deer and Artayatci		1	1					2	15			4	4		6	29
Deer and Wolf		1		1				2	5			2	3	1	1	12
Deer and Raccoon			1				1	2	20			4	2		4	30
Deer and Cane					1			1	1							1
Deer and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Deer and Potato								1	14			4	4		5	27
Deer and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Deer and Lidjàmi									1							1
Deer and Fish												2		1		3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Deer and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Deer and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Deer and Skunk												2		1		3
Deer and Nokfaha												1				1
Deer and Salt										1		1			1	3
Deer and Fresh-land												1				1
Deer and Asunwa												1				1
Deer and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Deer and Wokai									3			1				4
Deer and Eagle									3							3
Deer and Tcowasta									1							1
Bird and Beaver	10		1	2	3		3	19	9			1	1		2	13
Bird and Snake					3			3	2			1			5	8
Bird and Alligator	4	1	1		3			9	16			3	1		6	26
Bird and Aktayatci		1	1		2			4	16			3	2		6	27
Bird and Turkey	3	1			1		1	6	10			2			2	14
Bird and Tâmi	3			1	3		1	8	12			2	1		2	17
Bird and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			5	12
Bird and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Bird and Wolf	3							3	3			2	3		1	9
Bird and Pahosa	1							1	5			1	2		3	11
Bird and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Bird and Salt								1		1		1				2
Bird and Potato							1	1	14			3	4		5	26
Bird and Raccoon			1				1	2	19			3	2		4	28
Bird and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Bird and Wildcat									7	1		2	2			12

Bird and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bird and Fox									3			3	1		1	8
Bird and Mole									2			1	3			6
Bird and Tcokote												1	1			2
Bird and Toad												1	2			3
Bird and Nokfaha												1				1
Bird and Fresh-land												1				1
Bird and Asunwa												1				1
Bird and Woksi									3			1				4
Bird and Tcowasta									2							2
Bird and Lidjàmi									1							1
Bird and Cane									1				1			2
Bird and Fish												1				1
Beaver and Potato				1	1		2	4	13			3	3		3	22
Beaver and Tàmi	5			2	2		1	10	8			2	2		1	13
Beaver and Aktayatci			1	1	1			3	15	1		3	3		5	27
Beaver and Fox				1				1	3			3	1		1	8
Beaver and Alligator	7	1	1	1	2	1		13	10			3	2		5	20
Beaver and Raccoon			1	1			1	3	18			3	2		3	26
Beaver and Snake	1				2			3	1			1	1		4	7
Beaver and Turkey	4	1			1		1	7	6			2			1	9
Beaver and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			4	11
Beaver and Fish						1		1				2				2
Beaver and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Beaver and Salt							1	1		1		1				2
Beaver and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Beaver and Wildcat									6	1		2	2			11
Beaver and Wolf									3	1		3	3	1	1	12
Beaver and Skunk									5	1		2	1		1	10
Beaver and Mole									2			2	3			7
Beaver and Tcokote												1	1			2
Beaver and Toad												1	2			3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Beaver and Nokfaha												1				1
Beaver and Fresh-land												1				1
Beaver and Asunwa												1				1
Beaver and Woksi									3			1				4
Beaver and Pahosa									7			1	2		2	11
Beaver and Eagle									4							4
Beaver and Tcowasta									2							2
Beaver and Łidjámi									1							1
Beaver and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Tàmi	13			3	4		2	22				1			1	2
Alligator and Turkey	12	2		1	1		2	18				1			1	2
Alligator and Potato				2				2	13			2	4		6	25
Alligator and Aktayatci		1	1	3	2		4	11	15			1	2		2	20
Alligator and Fox				2				2	3			2	1		1	7
Alligator and Snake	2			1	3		4	10							1	1
Alligator and Raccoon			1	2				3	18			2	2		5	27
Alligator and Kapitca				1	1		4	6	4						1	5
Alligator and Fish						1		1				2				2
Alligator and Woksi	2			1				3	1							1
Alligator and Otter					1			1	1			1	1		2	5
Alligator and Eagle									2							2
Alligator and Tcowasta									1							1
Alligator and Salt										2		1			1	4
Alligator and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Alligator and Wildcat									6	1		2	2		1	12
Alligator and Skunk									6	1		2	1		1	11
Alligator and Mole									2			2	3			7

Alligator and Tcokote												1	1			2
Alligator and Toad												1	2			3
Alligator and Nokfaha												1				1
Alligator and Fresh-land												1				1
Alligator and Asunwa												1				1
Alligator and Pahoss									5			1	2		3	11
Alligator and Wolf									6	1		3	3		1	14
Alligator and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Turkey	11			1	1		3	16				1				1
Tàmi and Potato				2	1			3	12			2	4		3	21
Tàmi and Aktayatci				2	2		1	5	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Fox				2	1			3	3			2	1			6
Tàmi and Raccoon				2	1			3	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Snake	2				3		1	6				1			2	3
Tàmi and Kapitca					1		1	2	4			1			2	7
Tàmi and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Tàmi and Otter					1		1	2				1	1			2
Tàmi and Salt							1	1				1				1
Tàmi and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Tàmi and Skunk									6			2	1			9
Tàmi and Mole									2			2	3			7
Tàmi and Tcokote												1	1			2
Tàmi and Toad												1	2			3
Tàmi and Nokfaha												1				1
Tàmi and Fresh-land												1				1
Tàmi and Asunwa												1				1
Tàmi and Pahoss									6			1	2		2	11
Tàmi and Eagle									2							2
Tàmi and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Cane									1				1			2
Tàmi and Wolf									6			3	3			12

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Tâmi and Tcowasta									1							1
Tâmi and Fish												2				2
Turkey and Snake	1				1		1	3				1			2	3
Turkey and Kapitca					1		1	2	3			1			2	6
Turkey and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Turkey and Pahosa				1				1	4						2	6
Turkey and Salt							1	1		2		1				3
Turkey and Aktayatci		1		1			1	3	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Raccoon				1				1	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Potato				1				1	10			1	1		3	15
Turkey and Otter							1	1	1			1				2
Turkey and Daddy-longlegs		1						1								
Turkey and Wildcat				1				1	5	2		1	1			9
Turkey and Skunk									6			1				7
Turkey and Wolf									5	1		1	1			8
Turkey and Mole									2			1	1			4
Turkey and Tcokote												1				1
Turkey and Toad												1	1			2
Turkey and Nokfaha												1				1
Turkey and Fresh-land												1				1
Turkey and Asunwa												1				1
Turkey and Eagle									2							2
Turkey and Tcowasta									1							1
Turkey and Fox				1				1	2			2				4
Turkey and Łidjâmi									1							1
Turkey and Cane									1							1
Aktayatci and Kapitca	4			1			5	10	2				1			3

Aktayatci and Woksi	1			1				2	2							2
Aktayatci and Snake				1	2		5	8	2				1			3
Aktayatci and Potato	3			3	1			7	11			1	3		6	21
Aktayatci and Fox	1			3	1			5	2			1			1	4
Aktayatci and Raccoon	4		1	3	1			9	13			1	1		5	20
Aktayatci and Eagle	2							2	2							2
Aktayatci and Otter					1			1	2			1	1		2	6
Aktayatci and Wildcat	1							1	6	1		2	2			11
Aktayatci and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Aktayatci and Salt										1		1			1	3
Aktayatci and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Aktayatci and Mole									2			2	3			7
Aktayatci and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Aktayatci and Tcokote												1	1			2
Aktayatci and Toad												1	2			3
Aktayatci and Nokfaha												1				1
Aktayatci and Fresh-land												1				1
Aktayatci and Asunwa												1				1
Aktayatci and Wolf									6			2	3		1	12
Aktayatci and Tcowasta									2							2
Aktayatci and Cane									1				1			2
Aktayatci and Lidjami									1							1
Aktayatci and Fish												2				2
Raccoon and Fish												2				2
Raccoon and Potato	12			4	2		3	21	3						2	5
Raccoon and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Raccoon and Eagle	2							2	2							2
Raccoon and Kapitca	2							2	4			1	1		4	10
Raccoon and Mole	1							1	1			2	1			4
Raccoon and Fox	2			4	1		1	8	1							1
Raccoon and Pahosa							1	1	7			1			2	10
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Raccoon and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Raccoon and Cane	1							1								
Raccoon and Tcowasta	2							2								
Raccoon and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Raccoon and Otter									1			1			2	4
Raccoon and Skunk									6			2			1	9
Raccoon and Salt												1			1	2
Raccoon and Snake									2			2			4	8
Raccoon and Tcokote												1				1
Raccoon and Toad												1	1			2
Raccoon and Nokfaha												1				1
Raccoon and Fresh-land												1				1
Raccoon and Asunwa												1				1
Raccoon and Wolf									6			3	2		1	12
Potato and Fox	3			4	1			8							1	1
Potato and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Potato and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Potato and Kapitca	2							2	3			1	1		5	10
Potato and Pahosa							1	1	6			1	2		2	11
Potato and Tcowasta	2							2								
Potato and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Potato and Cane	1							1					1			1
Potato and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Potato and Wildcat									5			2	2			9
Potato and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Potato and Mole	1							1	1			2	3			6
Potato and Salt												1			1	2

Potato and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Potato and Teokote												1	1			2
Potato and Toad												1	2			3
Potato and Nokfaha												1				1
Potato and Fish												2				2
Potato and Fresh-land												1				1
Potato and Asunwa												1				1
Potato and Wolf									5			3	3		1	12
Fox and Łidjámi	1							1								
Fox and Cane	1							1								
Fox and Mole	1							1	1			2				3
Fox and Wildcat									2			2	1			5
Fox and Otter									1			1				2
Fox and Skunk									4			2			1	7
Fox and Salt												1				1
Fox and Snake												1				1
Fox and Pahosa									1			1				2
Fox and Teokote												1				1
Fox and Toad												1				1
Fox and Nokfaha												1				1
Fox and Fresh-land												1				1
Fox and Asunwa												1				1
Fox and Wolf									2			3	1			6
Fox and Fish												2				2
Fox and Eagle	1							1	1							1
Fox and Wokal	1							1	2							2
Fox and Kapitca	1							1				1				1
Wolf and Fish												2				2
Wolf and Nokfaha				1				1								
Wolf and Asunwa				1				1								
Wolf and Fresh-land				1				1								
Wolf and Salt				1				1		1						1

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Wolf and Wildcat									3	1		1	2			7
Wolf and Skunk									4	1		2	1			8
Wolf and Mole									2			2	2			6
Wolf and Tcokote												1	1			2
Wolf and Toad												1	2			3
Wolf and Pahosa									2			1	1			4
Wolf and Otter												1	1		1	3
Wolf and Kapitca									2			1	1		1	5
Wolf and Snake									1			1	2		1	5
Wolf and Eagle									1							1
Wolf and Tcowasta									1							1
Wolf and Woksi									2			1				3
Wolf and Łidjámi									1							1
Wolf and Cane									1				1			2
Wolf and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Mole and Tcokote				1	1			2								
Mole and Toad				1	2			3								
Mole and Pahosa	1				1			2				1	1			2
Mole and Wildcat					1			1	1			1				2
Mole and Eagle									1							1
Mole and Otter				1				1					2			2
Mole and Skunk				1				1	2				1			3
Mole and Łidjámi	1							1								
Mole and Cane	1							1					1			1
Mole and Nokfaha												1				1
Mole and Salt												1				1
Mole and Fresh-land												1				1

Mole and Asunwa												1					1
Mole and Kapitca									1			1	1				3
Mole and Snake												1	3				4
Mole and Woksi									2			1					3
Mole and Fish												1					1
Snake and Kapitca				1	1		5	7	2								2
Snake and Woksi				1				1									
Snake and Otter					1			1				1	1		2		4
Snake and Pahosa									2			1	2		3		8
Snake and Wildcat									1			1	1				3
Snake and Skunk									1			1	1				3
Snake and Teokote												1	1				2
Snake and Toad												1	2				3
Snake and Nokfaha												1					1
Snake and Salt												1			1		2
Snake and Fresh-land												1					1
Snake and Asunwa												1					1
Snake and Teowasta									1								1
Snake and Cane												1					1
Kapitca and Eagle	2							2	1								1
Kapitca and Woksi	1			1				2									
Kapitca and Teowasta	1							1	1								1
Kapitca and Wildcat									4			1	1				6
Kapitca and Otter									1			1			2		4
Kapitca and Skunk									2			1					3
Kapitca and Teokote												1					1
Kapitca and Toad												1	1				2
Kapitca and Nokfaha												1					1
Kapitca and Fresh-land												1					1
Kapitca and Asunwa												1					1
Kapitca and Salt												1			1		2
Kapitca and Pahosa	1							1	4			1			3		8

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Pahosa and Cane					1			1								
Pahosa and Wildcat				1				1	4							4
Pahosa and Otter									1			1	2		1	5
Pahosa and Skunk									2			1	1			4
Pahosa and Tcokote												1	1			2
Pahosa and Toad												1	1			2
Pahosa and Nokfaha												1				1
Pahosa and Salt												1			1	2
Pahosa and Fresh-land												1				1
Pahosa and Asunwa												1				1
Pahosa and Woksi									1			1				2
Pahosa and Eagle									2							2
Pahosa and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Woksi	1							1	1							1
Eagle and Wildcat									3							3
Eagle and Otter									2							2
Eagle and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Skunk									2							2
Skunk and Fish				1				1								
Skunk and Otter				1	1			2								
Skunk and Tcokote				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Toad				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Salt										1		1				2
Skunk and Wildcat									3	1		1				5
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Fresh-land												1				1
Skunk and Asunwa												1				1

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Skunk and Wokŭ									3				1					4
Skunk and Łidjâmi									1									1
Skunk and Cane									1					1				2
Skunk and Nokfaha													1					1
Skunk and Teowasta									1									1
Skunk and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Otter and Teokote				1				1						1				1
Otter and Toad				1				1						1				1
Otter and Salt							1	1					1					1
Otter and Wildcat									2				1					3
Otter and Fish																		
Otter and Nokfaha													1					1
Otter and Fresh-land													1					1
Otter and Asunwa													1					1
Otter and Wokŭ									1				1					2
Salt and Nokfaha				1				1										
Salt and Fresh-land				1				1										
Salt and Asunwa				1				1										
Salt and Wildcat		1						1		1			1					2
Salt and Wokŭ													1					1
Salt and Teokote													1					1
Salt and Toad													1					1
Salt and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Wildcat and Teokote													1					1
Wildcat and Toad					1			1					1					1
Wildcat and Nokfaha													1					1
Wildcat and Fresh-land													1					1
Wildcat and Asunwa													1					1
Wildcat and Wokŭ									2				1					3
Wildcat and Teowasta									1				1					2
Wildcat and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Teokote and Toad				1	1			2										

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Tcokote and Nokfaha												1				1
Tcokote and Fresh-land												1				1
Tcokote and Asunwa												1				1
Tcokote and Woksi												1				1
Tcokote and Cane													1			1
Toad and Cane													1			1
Toad and Nokfaha												1				1
Toad and Fresh-land												1				1
Toad and Asunwa												1				1
Toad and Woksi												1				1
Woksi and Cane									1							1
Woksi and Łidjámi									1							1
Woksi and Nokfaha												1				1
Woksi and Fresh-land												1				1
Woksi and Asunwa												1				1
Nokfaha and Fresh-land				1				1								
Nokfaha and Asunwa				1				1								
Fresh-land and Asunwa				1				1								
Cane and Łidjámi	1							1								

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The Bear and Wolf were associated almost everywhere. The latter, while very much smaller, was, strangely enough, called the "uncle" of the former, which in turn was its "nephew." The Wildcat and Panther were also associated and again it was the smaller, the Wildcat, which was the "uncle."[38] This was also true of the Skunk, which was always reckoned as part of the Wind and was the "uncle" of it. Such a connection is remembered even by the Alabama in Texas. A well-nigh universal association was also formed between the Alligator, Tàmi, and Turkey. In this group the Tàmi were said to be the "uncles" by one informant and the Alligator by another. While the other associations appear to be natural, indicated by the related nature of the animals, one is at first puzzled to know what connection could have been found between the Alligator and the Turkey. The word tàmi suggests a large flying thing, hence the connection of Tàmi and Turkey is explicable. According to one informant the linking of the other two was because both the alligator and the turkey come from eggs, and if this was the real reason the Creeks had made one step toward determining those intimate relations which we now know to exist biologically between birds and reptiles. In connection with the use of terms of relationship for entire clans Stiggins's remark to the effect that "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" is of value. "All the families," he adds, "are connected as friends or some distant relation throughout the nation."[39] In his version of the migration legend Hawkins's Kasihta informant says that the Coweta Indians chose the Fish clan to supply their chiefs,[40] and in Gatschet's plan of the Kasihta square ground it occupies the northern half of the chiefs' arbor and is given as that from which the "vice-chief" was chosen.[41] Jackson Lewis told me that it was kindred to the Alligator, and my Yuchi informant placed it in one phratry with the Alligator and Beaver. The Coweta and Kasihta Indians declared, however, that it was a minor branch of the Wind clan, and this seems to be the general opinion. It is borne out to some extent by Hawkins's statement quoted above, coupled with the fact that in later times Coweta chiefs were selected from the Wind. The same thing is perhaps indicated by the further fact that in Kasihta it seems to have shared the functions of heniha with the Wind. Some Creeks deny that there was a Rabbit clan, and explain the use of such a term as a mere joke, since the Rabbit was "trickster" among all southeastern Indians. Others, however, and apparently the better informed, affirm that

[38] In explanation of this association Mr. McCombs told me that all creatures with claws were considered kindred and hence the clans named from them were also akin, but this would apply equally to the Bear, Panther, Raccoon and others which were rarely brought together.

[39] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

[40] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 32; see p. 33.

[41] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. II, p. 122.

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there was really a clan of the name and that, like the Skunk and Fish, it was a minor division of the Wind. Among the Hitchiti-speaking people and the Lower Eufaula Indians were three small clans called Mole, Toad, and Tcokote. The two former are uniformly said to have belonged together.[42] According to one of my informants the Tcokote was distinct, but those better qualified to pass an opinion declared that it belonged to the same group and one went so far as to state that Tcokote was another name for the Toad clan. The way in which the Mole is said to have split from the rest has been already related. The Mole and Toad—and the Tcokote also, if the majority of my informants are correct—usually formed one phratry with the Deer.

A most perplexing complex included the Fox, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci. Some of the older people state that in their youth the Fox clan was much more prominent but declined in later years, while the Raccoon and Potato clans rose into prominence in its place. I have already mentioned the supposed origin of the Raccoon from the union of the Fox and Daddy-longlegs and my reasons for doubting it, but there can be no question regarding the close connection that existed between the two former, for in eight of the nine cases in which the Fox clan is mentioned in my lists it belongs to the same phratry as the Raccoon. The connection between the Potato and Fox was equally close; according to my records they were in separate phratries in only one town, and that a settlement of the Seminole. The Raccoon and Potato clans intermarried in Tukabahchee, at least in late times, but almost everywhere else they were considered to belong to one phratry. In Łapłáko the Raccoon people were denominated "uncles" by the Potato people. The only other exceptions which my lists contain are from towns where the information is least trustworthy. According to Legus Perryman the Potato clan had come from the Raccoon; in fact he gave this as an occurrence which "all admit." The same informant also stated, as a fact "well known," that the Aktayatci clan had come from the Fox, but this is in the highest degree doubtful, though it is true that in some towns the Aktayatci was linked up with the Fox as well as the Raccoon and Potato. In fact the Aktayatci is found in three different positions—independent, associated with the Raccoon, Fox, and Potato, or associated with the Alligator and their allies and the Snake. In Kasihta, Coweta, and one or two other towns the three groups are brought together in one phratry, this clan perhaps being the ground of the association. Among Seminole towns the association of the Aktayatci with the Alligator and Snake is especially marked, and this can be accounted for very well if the explanation of the name Aktayatci given me by an old Seminole is correct. He interpreted it to mean "something traveling about," reference being

[42] Gatschet's informants and mine all agreed on this.

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intended to the water moccasin. Knowing as we do how often secondary interpretations are given by primitive people to terms the actual meaning of which has been forgotten we can not feel sure that this explanation is the true one, but there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles among whom the association took place and therefore it at least gives their justification for that particular association.[49] It also explains the association of the Aktayatci and Alligator. In 11 cases they are placed in the same phratry; in 20 cases they are separated.

It should be noticed that this linkage takes place principally in Lower Creek and Seminole towns, while the separation is mainly among the Upper Creeks. The Kapitca, a name which by some is interpreted "lye drip" or "ashes," also appear oftenest among the Seminole, though they are mentioned as well in six Upper Creek towns, one Lower Creek town, and one Hitchiti town. In all but 3 of the 13 towns in which they and the Aktayatci occur together the two are in the same phratry, and one of the exceptions is a town with an imperfect record. They are associated with the Snake clan in 7 out of 9 cases. The Woksi were a comparatively obscure clan not recorded from many towns. Jackson Lewis said that they were "almost the same" as the Aktayatci. They are in fact found in the same group with this clan and the Kapitca in Abihkutci and Lower Eufaula. In Kealedji they are separated and put with the Alligator, but, knowing the frequent association of the Alligator and Aktayatci, this is susceptible of explanation. The Daddy-longlegs is one of those clans most largely represented among the Texas Alabama, but it is barely remembered by the Alabama and Koasati of Oklahoma. According to a Koasati informant in Oklahoma this clan was "the same as the Aktayatci and Alligator," and his statement is important because it agrees with the classification remembered by the Texas Alabama in accordance with which they formed one phratry with the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver. The Łidjàmi was a small clan which seems to have been found principally in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, and some related towns. According to current report they were a branch of the Raccoon. Another clan connected with the Raccoon was the Eagle. One of my informants placed this with the Bird, a natural enough assumption, but that he was mistaken is shown both by the direct testimony of better informed individuals and by certain supplementary considerations. In the first place Jackson Lewis, whose evidence is always valuable, stated that this was the leader among the Tciloki clans, in the dual division to be explained presently. The Bird, on the contrary, was one of the

[49] The prefix ak- signifies motion into water or something down in the water and hence bears out the suggestion very well. Ayatci means "to travel about" but this leaves the 't unexplained. Perhaps tayatci comes rather from tayat, abundant, sufficient.

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615 leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers [43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [122] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers. [44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.

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while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver. 615.

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the 615 614

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clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	--------	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	--------	1	1
Wolf	1	--------	1
Alligator	1	--------	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

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cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver-Bear	6 (A, K, A-K)
Beaver-Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver-Deer	5 (A, A-K)
Beaver-Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver-Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Beaver-Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver-Wind	0
Beaver-Wolf	0
Beaver-Alligator	0
	31

Bear-Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear-Deer	8 (A)
Bear-Beaver	6 (A, K, A-K)
Bear-Wind	4 (A, A-K)
Bear-Turkey	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Bear-Bear	1 (A)
Bear-Panther	0
Bear-Salt	0
Bear-Alligator	0
	30

Deer-Bear	6 (A)
Deer-Beaver	5 (A, A-K)
Deer-Panther	4 (A)
Deer-Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer-Wind	2 (A, A-K)
Deer-Alligator	1 (A-K)
Deer-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Deer-Turkey	0
Deer-Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs-Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Panther	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Daddy-longlegs-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs-Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs-Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs-Alligator	0
	20

Turkey-Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey-Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Bear	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Salt	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Deer	0
Turkey-Wind	0
Turkey-Wolf	0
Turkey-Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat-Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat-Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat-Salt	2 (A-K)
Wildcat-Deer	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Bear	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat-Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat-Panther	0
Wildcat-Wind	0
Wildcat-Wolf	0
Wildcat-Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5

Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my 615

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lists as having taken place in from one to three towns, and undoubtedly some of these actually occurred, but, owing to the breakdown of the system and the chance for error in collecting information from so many informants of varying degrees of reliability, too much confidence must not be placed in them. Our analysis shows that the 50 or more clans, the names of which can in any way be recovered, fall for the most part into a small number of groups headed by a few clans more prominent than the rest. About nine such groups may be made out, headed, respectively, by the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon, Alligator, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther, although, as we have seen, associations are also found between several of these, as, for instance, the Bird and Beaver, Raccoon and Aktayatci, Aktayatci and Alligator, Beaver and Alligator, and Deer and Panther. Legus Perryman, one of my oldest informants, denominated these very clans, minus the Raccoon, "old original clans." It is interesting to compare this list with the clans mentioned by Adair, Bartram, and Stiggins, which, it is to be presumed, were those most prominent in the times in which they wrote, though in a few cases Adair mentions a clan in order to back up some argument. In various places he refers to the following: Eagle, Panther, Buffalo, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, Wind, Raven, and Sphane.[45] In one place he seems to distinguish between the Panther and "Tyger,"[46] but elsewhere he speaks of the "Panther or Tyger."[47] Five of the clans in his list, the Wind, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, and Panther, are among the nine principal clans recognized to-day; three more, the Eagle, Snake, and Fish, have, or are remembered to have had, considerable prominence; three others, the Buffalo, Tortoise, and Sphane, are known to have existed; and only one, the Raven, has vanished from life and from memory as well.[48] Bartram mentions, incidentally, the Wildcat, Otter, Bear, and Rattlesnake.[49] By the last he probably means the Snake clan. With this understanding all are well-known clans, though it happens that only one, the Bear, is of major importance. Stiggins says: "The nation consists of nine clans or families, viz, the Wind, the Bear, the Panther, the Bird, the Polecat, the Fox, the Potato, the Red Paint, and the Isfauna which is composed of many small clans."[50] The first four of these belong to the leading nine of to-day, and the Fox and Potato are connected with two others, the Raccoon and Aktayatci. I have spoken of the Red Paint already, also of the "Isfauna."[51] The Polecat or Skunk is the only one this writer mentions which may be said to have been strictly a minor clan. It is not surprising that a clan with an uninterpretable name, such as the Aktayatci, should not have been selected by these writers

[45] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 15, 21, 131.
[46] Ibid., p. 15.
[47] Ibid., p. 21.
[48] Consult, however, p. 119, footnote 2.
[49] Bartram, Travels, p. 451.
[50] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[51] See pp. 119, 120.

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in giving specimens of the clan names, and the Beaver we know to have had importance only in one or two localities. The omission of the Bird by Adair, however, and particularly the failure of any of these writers to notice the Alligator, is singular. Perhaps the Snake was representative of the Alligator group at that time. On the other hand, the Bird and Alligator may have arisen to prominence only at a very late period. Still, these early lists as a whole yield no proof of any violent change in the clan composition of Creek peoples.

In all of the cross grouping to which attention has been given it is remarkable to what an extent the Wind clan stands by itself. Out of 38 possibilities for association between this clan and the Bear—both of which it should be remarked are White clans like the Bird and Beaver—there are but 3 cases in which they fall together. Only 2 out of 36 are found between the Wind and Panther, 2 out of 33 between the Wind and Bird, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Deer, 1 out of 35 between the Wind and Alligator, 2 out of 34 between the Wind and Aktayatci, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Beaver, and in 31 possibilities there is not a single association between this clan and the Raccoon. The remaining clans rank, with reference to their independence, in about the following order: Panther, Deer, Bear, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Alligator, Bird, and Beaver. If, however, we consider the number of different clans with which associations were formed instead of the total number of associations we would have to set down the Bird and Beaver as more independent than the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator.

The following table illustrates in concrete form the connection of the various Creek clans in so far as it can be determined. The nine principal phratries are numbered, and all of the clans which occur under each are usually found in this association. The relationships which we find between the phratries themselves are indicated by ARROWS.

1. Wind, Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, Turtle.
2. Bear, Wolf, Salt, Nokfaha, Asunwa, Fresh-land.
3. Bird, Medicine, Inlanisi.

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4. Beaver.

↑

5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Daddy-longlegs.

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6. Raccoon, Łidjâmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, Mink.
   Potato, Teowasta.

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7. Aktayatci, Snake, Kapitca, Woksi.
8. Deer, Pahosa, Mole, Toad, Teokote.

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9. Panther, Wildcat, Arrow.

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615 One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatci. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.[51a] There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Aychanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

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616 In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi[52] but separated clan from clan. One of these two

[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 74-78.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogâlga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tâmi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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Lidjàmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat[1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.